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Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PFOR, US, GE, GW, WB

SUBJECT: BERLIN: 1976 US POLICY GUIDELINES

REF: A.) USBERLIN 164 B.) BONN 1621 C.) MOSCOW 1943
D.) STATE 221154 (9/17/75)

WASHINGTON AGENCIES ARE GRATEFUL FOR THE EXCELLENT POLICY ASSESSMENT SUBMITTED BY MISSION BERLIN AND FOR THE COMMENTS OF EMBASSIES BONN AND MOSCOW. POST RECOMMENDATIONS WERE CONSIDERED DURING AN INTER-AGENCY DISCUSSION OF AMERICAN POLICY TOWARDS BERLIN HELD IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE ON FEBRUARY 11, 1976. THE ISSUES COVERED IN THE FOLLOWING POLICY GUIDELINES FOR 1976 WERE AIRED AT THAT DISCUSSION. THE GUIDELINES HAVE RECEIVED INTER-AGENCY CLEARANCE.

1. THE SITUATION OF BERLIN IS A REFLECTION OF THE BASIC DIVISIONS WHICH CONTINUE IN EUROPE AND HENCE CANNOT BE ISOLATED FROM THE BROADER QUESTIONS WHICH SEPARATE EAST AND WEST. EVENTS IN BERLIN BOTH AFFECT AND ARE AFFECTED BY THE OVERALL STATE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO PARTS OF EUROPE, AND ESPECIALLY BETWEEN THE US AND USSR. OUR INTEREST IN MAINTAINING THE PRESENT BALANCE IN EUROPE MAKES IT NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN THE PRESENT BALANCE IN BERLIN. THE

US POLITICAL AND MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE CITY MUST CONTINUE AT LEVELS SUFFICIENT TO MEET THIS REQUIREMENT.

2. TAILORING OUR POLICY TOWARDS MAINTAINING THE NECESSARY BALANCE IN BERLIN SHOULD NOT CAUSE US TO LOSE SIGHT OF THE IMPORTANT POLITICAL, LEGAL, ECONOMIC AND PSYCHOLOGICAL REQUIREMENTS WHICH HAVE DEVELOPED OVER THE LAST 30 YEARS AND WHICH MUST BE SATISFIED IF BERLIN IS TO REMAIN HEALTHY AND PROSPEROUS. IT IS NOT IN OUR INTEREST TO CONFIDENTIAL

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ENCOURAGE A STATUS QUO MENTALITY WHICH LEADS TO STAGNATION.

3. ESSENTIAL TO THE CONTINUED HEALTH OF BERLIN IS MAINTENANCE OF THE WESTERN LEGAL POSITION ON THE STATUS OF THE CITY. THE SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO GAIN THE UPPER HAND IN ESTABLISHING THEIR INTERPRETATION AS THE GENERALLY ACCEPTED VIEW OF THE SITUATION IN BERLIN. THE UNITED STATES SHOULD CONTINUE TO JOIN OTHER MEMBERS OF THE BONN GROUP IN COUNTERING SOVIET PROTESTS OF WESTERN ACTIVITIES IN BERLIN. WE SHOULD ALSO CONTINUE TO MAKE CLEAR TO THE SOVIETS AND THE GDR THAT THEIR BEHAVIOR ON BERLIN IS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN OUR APPROACH TO OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIPS.

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4. A FURTHER FOCUS OF SOVIET PRESSURE ON BERLIN ARE MEETINGS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, ESPECIALLY THE UN. THE PASSAGE OF TIME AND RECENT INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION OF THE GDR ARE LIKELY TO MAKE IT INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT TO GAIN ACCEPTANCE IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS OF CERTAIN ASPECTS OF OUR VIEW OF THE LEGAL AND POLITICAL SITUATION IN BERLIN. SOVIET LOBBYING WITH THIRD COUNTRIES ON A BILATERAL BASIS IS ALSO LIKELY TO CONTINUE. DURING 1976, IT WILL BE IMPORTANT TO DETERMINE HOW SERIOUS THE PROBLEM OF INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT HAS BECOME. IF NECESSARY, STEPS SHOULD BE TAKEN TO COUNTERACT THE TREND.

5. EAST-WEST DISPUTES OVER BERLIN NOW CENTER ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY ON MATTERS WHICH FALL WITHIN THE RUBRIC OF TIES BETWEEN THE WESTERN SECTORS AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY. THIS HAS MEANT THAT THE DAY-TO-DAY BURDEN FOR DEFENSE OF BERLIN'S IMPORTANT POLITICAL AND LEGAL STATUS HAS SHIFTED IN PART TO THE FRG. THE THREE POWERS ARE COMING INCREASINGLY TO PLAY A SUPPORTING ROLE. HOWEVER, ALLIED INTERESTS AND FRG INTERESTS IN BERLIN HAVE NEVER BEEN AND WILL LIKELY NEVER BE IDENTICAL. US-FRG RELATIONS ARE ALSO BECOMING INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT OVER A BROAD RANGE OF ISSUES. AS THE FOCUS OF ACTIVITY

IN BERLIN SHIFTS TO THE FRG, IT IS PROBABLE THAT WE WILL AT TIMES BE FACED WITH THE CHOICE OF SUPPORTING A WEST

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GERMAN POLICY WHICH COULD DAMAGE OUR INTERESTS IN BERLIN OR OF REJECTING A GERMAN ACTION IN BERLIN AT THE RISK OF FRICTION IN OUR OVERALL RELATIONSHIP. IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF ALL CONCERNED -- INCLUDING THE FRG -- NOT TO PREJUDICE THREE POWER RIGHTS TO THE POINT WHERE WE CAN NO LONGER GIVE CONTENT TO OUR GUARANTEE OF THE FREEDOM OF BERLIN. EFFORTS SHOULD CONTINUE TO ENSURE THAT FRG OFFICIALS TAKE ACCOUNT OF THREE POWER INTERESTS WHEN FORMULATING POLICIES TOWARDS BERLIN. SPECIFIC FRG POLICIES SHOULD BE EVALUATED TO DETERMINE WHETHER THE RISK TO OUR POSITION IN BERLIN IS SUFFICIENT TO JUSTIFY OUR OPPOSING THEM, AT TIMES, EVEN AT RISK OF OCCASIONAL FRICTION IN OUR OVERALL RELATIONSHIP.

6. MAINTENANCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF BERLIN'S TIES WITH THE FRG ARE IMPORTANT FOR PRACTICAL AS WELL AS POLITICAL REASONS. OVER THE LONG TERM, CULTIVATION OF THESE TIES IS THE ONLY WAY TO GUARANTEE SURVIVAL OF WEST BERLIN IN ITS PRESENT FORM. NONE OF THE ALLIES, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES, IS ABLE OR INDEED WILLING TO BEAR THE LARGE BURDEN NECESSARY FOR PROSPERITY OF THE CITY. OUR GENERAL APPROACH SHOULD BE IN THE DIRECTION OF EXPANDING

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THE CITY'S PRESENT NETWORK OF TIES WITH THE REST OF
WESTERN EUROPE AS WELL AS WITH THE FRG. SPECIFIC EFFORTS
AT DEVELOPMENT OF TIES MUST ALSO BE SEEN IN THE CONTEXT
OF OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE
AND EVALUATED, IN EACH CASE, TO DETERMINE WHETHER
A PARTICULAR PROPOSAL WILL REBOUND NEGATIVELY ON THESE
CONSIDERATIONS.

7. AN IMPORTANT QUESTION IN 1976 WILL BE BERLIN'S ROLE
IN FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION. BERLIN
CANNOT BE ISOLATED FROM WESTERN EUROPEAN EFFORTS TOWARDS
UNITY. CONTINUED VIABILITY OF THE CITY REQUIRES THAT
BERLINERS BE ALLOWED TO FEEL A PART OF A DEVELOPING
WESTERN EUROPE AND THAT OTHER WESTERN EUROPEANS CONTINUE
TO VIEW BERLIN AS A NATURAL MEMBER OF THEIR COMMUNITY.
MORE DETAILED STUDY SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE OPPORTUNITIES
AND LIMITATIONS RELATED TO BERLIN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE
EC.

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8. THE ABOVE MENTIONED DEVELOPMENTS MEAN THAT WESTERN
CONSULTATION ON BERLIN WILL BECOME INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT
IN COMING YEARS. WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO MAKE CLEAR TO THE
FRG OUR NEED FOR ADEQUATE AND TIMELY CONSULTATIONS AND THE

NECESSITY TO COORDINATE DETAILS OF BOTH ALLIED AND FRG
POLICIES BEFORE THEY ARE IMPLEMENTED. ALLIED INTERESTS
WILL CONTINUE TO TOUCH ON SOME OF THE MOST SENSITIVE
ASPECTS OF FRG FOREIGN AND INNER-GERMAN POLICY. FRG
SENSITIVITY TO ALLIED NEEDS HAS INCREASED CONSIDERABLY
SINCE THE FEDERAL ENVIRONMENTAL OFFICE DISPUTE OF 1974.
CONSULTATION REMAINS UNEVEN, HOWEVER, ESPECIALLY WHERE
IMPORTANT FRG NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE GDR ARE CONCERNED.
INCREASED EFFORTS ARE REQUIRED TO ENSURE THAT ALLIED-FRG
AND ALLIED-SENAT CONSULTATION MEET OUR NEEDS. THE ROLE
OF THE BONN GROUP IN THE CONSULTATION PROCESS IS OF
PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE. THE SEMI-ANNUAL FOUR POWER FOREIGN
MINISTERS' CONSULTATIONS WILL REMAIN A VALUABLE FORUM FOR
INJECTING HIGH-LEVEL VIEWS INTO THE CONSULTATION PROCESS.

9. A CONTINUING PROBLEM IN 1976 WILL BE THE ISSUE OF
ALLIED AIR SERVICES TO BERLIN. IN LIGHT OF IMPROVEMENTS
TO GROUND ACCESS MADE POSSIBLE BY THE QUADRIPARTITE
AGREEMENT, IT IS NO LONGER REASONABLE TO EXPECT ALLIED
CARRIERS TO MAINTAIN SERVICE AT PAST LEVELS. WITH
ALTERNATIVE MODES OF TRAVEL AVAILABLE, IT IS ALSO
CLEARLY TIME TO RE-EXAMINE THE STRUCTURE OF FARES TO THE
CITY. ALLIED AIR SERVICES AND
THE FOUR POWER CORRIDOR REGIME DO, HOWEVER,
REMAIN THE MOST PRACTICAL DEMONSTRATION OF BERLIN'S
LIFELINE TO THE WEST. TREATING THE AIR SERVICES AS A

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PURELY COMMERCIAL VENTURE COULD LEAD TO EROSION OF IMPOR-
TANT AIR CONNECTIONS AS WELL AS A DANGEROUS LOSS OF
CONFIDENCE BY THE BERLINERS IN THE FUTURE OF THEIR CITY.
IN THE RAPIDLY CHANGING BERLIN CIVIL AVIATION SITUATION,
WE NEED A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE REQUIREMENTS,
LIMITATIONS AND OPPORTUNITIES AFFECTING THE FUTURE OF
ALLIED AIR SERVICES. OBTAINING THIS UNDERSTANDING SHOULD
BE A PRIMARY GOAL OF US POLICY IN 1976.

10. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL SITUATION IN BERLIN SEEMS TO HAVE
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IMPROVED DURING 1975, WHICH WAS RELATIVELY FREE OF
CONFLICT OVER THE CITY. ALTHOUGH THERE ARE INDICATIONS
OF INCREASING SATISFACTION WITH THE SITUATION IN BERLIN,
IN THEIR UNIQUE SITUATION THE CITY'S RESIDENTS CAN
NEVER BE EXPECTED TO TAKE A FULLY "NORMAL" VIEW OF THE
WORLD. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL SITUATION WILL REMAIN
IMPORTANT DURING 1976. SPECIAL ATTENTION SHOULD BE PAID
TO ENSURING THAT CONFIDENCE IN THE CITY'S FUTURE IS
MAINTAINED AT A LEVEL SUFFICIENT TO ENSURE MAINTENANCE
OF THE IMPORTANT ECONOMIC BASE.

11. A UNIQUE FACTOR AFFECTING OUR POSITION IN BERLIN
DURING 1976 WILL BE THE US AND FRG NATIONAL ELECTION
CAMPAIGNS. ISSUES RAISED DURING THE AMERICAN CAMPAIGN
COULD BE SEEN BY ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER IN THE FRG AND
AS SUPPORTING THEIR VIEWS ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND
JUSTIFYING SPECIFIC POLICIES TOWARDS BERLIN. DURING
THE FRG CAMPAIGN, GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION ARE LIKELY
TO ATTEMPT TO OUTDO EACH OTHER WITH PROMISES FOR A
STRONG STANCE IN BERLIN. THE THREE POWERS COULD EASILY
BE DRAWN INTO INTERNAL DEBATES ON BERLIN POLICY. EFFORTS
SHOULD BE UNDERTAKEN NOW TO SUGGEST TO BOTH SIDES THAT
BERLIN SHOULD NOT BECOME A CONTENTIOUS ISSUE DURING
THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN. KISSINGER

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